be hastened if ~~the hunter~~ a man bites his left cheek till the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this ~~mx~~ belief ~~was~~ is recorded:- A number of years ago a Bella Coola chief with a ~~number~~ band of followers was at Kwatna. They had been gambling for stakes of mountain-goat grease, and two of the men had lost so heavily that their stocks were exhausted. Accordingly, they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish their supplies. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place which they likewise slew. When a fifth and sixth goats appeared and were likewise despatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural powers and ~~that~~ they should ~~restrain themselves~~ ~~stop~~ cease. Finally, they stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on their return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in ~~their~~ terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided so that the men escaped.

~~Considering~~ The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds, ~~it~~ may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. ~~The~~ Supernatural beings ~~of all kinds~~ abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. The man who is alert and bold ~~can~~ may take advantage of these opportunites and obtain assistance, ~~fxxx~~ but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most often granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of Mythology and will be described in a later chapter. ~~But~~ On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination is conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in the Human Body.

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caps → Supernatural Elements in Human Beings.

In addition to the supernatural powers possessed by animals, birds, reptiles, and even by trees and rocks, the Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither a sticks nor a stones can move, because they lack ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ their attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola ~~regarding~~ in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ~~attribute~~ ascribe the phenomena of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ health and sickness, of thought, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ of success and failure, ~~and~~ of life itself to powers of another sphere. Bella Coola ~~beliefs~~ ideas are not clearly crystalized on this subject, but in the following section the writer has endeavoured to give ~~xx~~ a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

The Spirit.

The most important part of the human body is the xʌxmänoäs, spirit. This is small in size, but ~~is~~ of great power since it ~~xx~~ belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but siut. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has ~~a spirit~~ one, without ~~which~~ it life would be impossible. When a child is born, ~~its~~ his parents supply ~~it~~ him with food and care, while Äl̄quntäm provides the even more necessary ~~supernatural~~ invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of ~~a person's~~ the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ~~spirits,~~ ones but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human ~~spirits.~~ beings. With a new-born infant, the spirit is weak and powerless, but ~~as~~ it the body increases in strength, with ~~so the spirit becomes more powerful.~~ ~~does~~ If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts,

DEPARTMENT OF MINES

CANADA

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but to the ~~fact that~~ activity of his spirit. ~~is active~~. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that ~~his spirit~~ it has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert and sluggish. It is the cause of dreams which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep ~~the spirit~~ it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours it is the spirit which ~~is responsible for~~ formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. ~~it may be~~. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this ~~spirit~~ element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, ~~it is~~ ~~his spirit caused~~ his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance:-- A few years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest for a few moments. Presently a slide came plunging down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would been standing if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told ~~the writer~~ how his lower eye-lids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, ~~even if it is~~ however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they ~~thus~~ attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, sɪ̀k', though caused by the spirit, is somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, while others say that it ~~supernatural attribute is~~ has a spirit. In former times especially, as ~~a tree~~ one was falling the cutters would occasionally see a dark object, somewhat resembling an otter, flash away and disappear. Then, and not till then,

was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite association with it, too, is breath, sininits, provided by Älquntäm for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by Älquntäm to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though ~~the~~ their exact ~~means~~ relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition becomes critical. Only a shaman (1) can return ~~a spirit~~ one, and if he fails, death always results. Sometimes a spirit leaves its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries to eat dirt, and his relatives ~~at once~~ realise at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates ~~the~~ what is missing, ~~spirit~~, and traps it in his cloak which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure ~~can~~ must be performed ~~only~~ by a shaman ~~owing to~~ because of the supernatural power ~~with which he is endowed.~~ required.

~~A man's~~ Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw ~~it~~ one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; ~~and~~ in days of yore, some were so powerful that they could extract ~~spirits~~ them by their mere presence. During kusiut dances, (2) the uninitiated are told that if they enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass on the side-walk outside the door, their spirits will be (drawn from them ~~and~~ by the power within and) attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. ~~The claim made by~~ Members of the society ~~is~~ claim that their power ~~is so~~ great ~~that it~~ acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates. ~~The only exception is with regard to~~ and children in arms; ~~who~~ the latter can be taken by their mothers into the ~~sacred~~ house, because their ~~spirits~~ supernatural elements have not ~~yet~~ developed sufficient strength to leave their bodies. Another manner in which a person may lose his ~~spirit~~ is through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the fo-

(1). See p. .
(2). See p. .

rest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it. The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. Sometimes it tarries near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; ~~and~~ now ~~the~~ disembodied, it ~~spirit~~ goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up ~~above~~ to Nusmät·a. It ~~There~~ is uncertain~~ty~~ ~~concerning~~ whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different ~~several~~ shapes ~~corresponding to those~~ used by various ~~different~~ ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above it similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that Älquntäm ~~Älquntäm~~ has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. Nusmät·a is so huge that it is never crowded though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and are accordingly neither supplicated nor feared.

The Life.

Closely associated with the spirit is the sxʿxmänoäs lʿqt', life.(1) As in the previous case, Älquntäm provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; in fact, the body, without life, is an inert mass ~~a useless blanket~~ of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element ~~life~~ grow, always taking the exact shape and

(1). Interpretations have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of confusing native terms. Life is not an accurate translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section.

form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, ~~the~~ its motive power ~~of the life~~ being the spirit. It is the life which suffers whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dangerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and often fatally.

It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in Nusmät a to greet Äl~~a~~quntäm. It is common knowledge that some ~~element~~ part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which ~~part~~ it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the concensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, so will its owner prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, ~~xxxxxx~~ he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of Äl~~a~~quntäm's entry, he will die. By dreams a man learns the fortune of his supernatural ~~element~~ representative, and from them he can not only ~~foretell his prosperity~~ judge what is in store for him during the coming year, but receive ~~information~~ intimations concerning birth and death, kusiut matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity since all are decided at the meeting of Äl~~a~~quntäm and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year,(1) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some ~~element~~ portion of the body~~, probably the life,~~ actually ascends. Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this ~~xxxxx~~ conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the ~~body~~ trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The connection of these ~~four~~ with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which there is no unanimity of belief. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters which are quite beyond the ordinary realm of daily routine.

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh at once begins to

(1). See p. .

decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where ~~the deceased~~ he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the ~~place~~ scene of death. ~~Sometimes~~ In some cases it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of ~~approaching~~ pregnancy. (page...) (1) It wants to see former friends, and ~~sometimes~~ in some cases makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a ~~person~~ man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without either hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. ~~Xxi~~ During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former, ~~sometimes~~ in some cases accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to Nusmät·a.

After four days the life, ~~now a wraith,~~ descends to the land below, where it lives forever as a ghost. Some ~~Bella Coola~~ believe that it is the shadow which assumes this ~~xxixx~~ form, but ~~this~~ the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural beings. ~~(2) (See also chapter VIII) and further information will be found in Chapter VIII.~~

At death, when the life ~~as a whole~~ becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The ~~one~~ part situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate. No one knows what happens to the ~~one~~ part situated in the body. The ~~part localized~~ part in the throat, including the voice, enters an owl, possibly one of those which normally roosts on the tree behind Nusmät·a. This element of a dead person occasionally communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story:

~~A number of years ago~~ A party of men and women once camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they ~~were~~ rested by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives ~~was~~ would be listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

~~(1). See p.~~

~~(2). Further information will be found in chapter VIII.~~

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke: "I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, ~~this~~ the bird is treated with considerable respect. ~~by the Bella Coola.~~ It is improper to make fun of one or to ask ~~it its name~~ who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they ~~do~~ are not ~~constantly~~ always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking <u>why</u> and <u>wherefore</u>.

The Tally Post.

In the beginning of time, when Äłquntäm sent the first people down to earth, he erected in Nusmät'a a post emblazoned with the bird or animal form taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing below. These are termed tally posts.(1) Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever Äłquntäm lends <u>sininits</u> to a mortal, causing life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ~~can never~~ ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally posts and a third to be described in the next section. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by its straightening. Sometimes Äłquntäm is kind enough to do this if ~~the owner~~

(1). <u>Q̓watłnusta</u>. One of the names of Nusmät'a, Nusq̓watłnaista, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." <u>Q̓watłnusta</u> and <u>k̓wałtenta</u> are closely associated, and it is surprising to find a glottalized velar <u>k</u> in the former, and a glottalized <u>k</u> in the latter; it is possible that this may be due to faulty recording of Bella Coola sounds by the writer.

placated ~~him~~ by prayer and ceremonial chastity, and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were in some ~~times~~ cases unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from ~~the~~ its angle of inclination. In one of the kusiut dances, the performer pretends to ~~have the~~ be able to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears. (page...) On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of ~~the existence of~~ these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion that tally posts have mentality, and ~~suggested~~ that it might be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body. ~~itself.~~

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described q̓watłnusta in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It ~~constantly~~ stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his q̓watłnusta has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, ~~and not only hides~~ it hides its owner from the donor's sight, ~~but acts as~~ and is a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to Nusmät'a. At death it is believed to ~~leave the body and~~ accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

~~There seems no reason to doubt that~~ The concept of tally posts ~~is~~ seems to be an ancient belief, ~~of the Bella Coola.~~ ~~Nor does the~~ and application of the term q̓watłnusta to an ~~ordinary~~ immaterial possession of quite another type does not destroy this probability. ~~It must be remembered that~~ within the last sixty years the Bella Coola have ~~suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused~~ been affected greatly by the coming of the white man, ~~but~~ and have been reduced to a ~~more~~ fraction ~~(1). See p.~~ .

of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs with consequent confusion. The writer considers that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for ~~the~~ an invisible and intangible element which goes in front of ~~a man~~ him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that sixty years ago the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural ~~element~~ quality to govern and influence their lives.

The Wash-Basin.

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a nusk̓ɛlusta, wash-basin. In the land above, Älquntäm has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section but it is Älquntäm who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate ~~individual~~ man, one whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; while the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The exact connection between an individual and his wash-basin is a matter upon which the Bella Coola ~~do~~ not have clear ideas. Some state that it constantly remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion, the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but ~~should~~ if it becomes sluggish, he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to the listlessness of this ~~supernatural~~ possession.

River water, being a creation of Älquntäm, is akin to the water in his basin above. By washing, a person strengthens his own. ~~Young men~~ Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed äsk̓ɛlusam, a word connected with nusk̓ɛlusta. A person who desires success goes to a stream before day-break, stands in the water, blows mucus